1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

In the legend of Kwoten, this hero kills Pardey, but so far as I know this is the only example of murder, either legendary or historical, among the Todas. The Todas may take part in the murder of a Kurumba who has been working magic, but this is of course no crime from the Toda point of view, but an obvious method of self-defence, for it is believed that the only way of stopping Kurumba sorcery is to kill the sorcerer.

With the exception of the occurrences accompanying the transference of wives, which I have already considered, I heard of no case of assault by one Toda on another.

Similarly, I heard of no offence against property except in connexion with the dairy. So far as I know, ornaments or clothing are never stolen. In the list of offences against the dairy, stealing ghi is included, but it was clear that this is regarded as sacrilege, as an offence against the dairy and not as an offence committed against the individual.

Suicide

In the legend of Kwoten there is a record of suicide by strangling, and since the suicide of Erten and his confederates this is said to have been a recognised custom among the Todas. Several instances have occurred in recent times; thus, about four generations ago, at a village called Podzkwar, near Taradrkirsi, a woman and her husband had a dispute and the woman strangled herself. About three generations ago a man strangled himself in the dairy at Melgars, and when a Toda is very angry he will threaten to commit suicide, saying "*on mĕdr kati kĕdraividikin*"—"my neck tying, I will die."

Another way of committing suicide, said to have been borrowed from the Badagas, is that of taking opium. There has been a recent case of suicide, by this means, and when angry, a Toda sometimes says, "*mud tid kĕdraividikin*"—"Opium eating, I will die."

The Monegar

The Todas have a *monegar*, or headman, who is responsible for the assessment which the Todas pay to Government for their grazing rights, &c. (see below).

576 A wife never bows down before her *husband*; though she performs the Âdabuddiken before her father-in-law, mother-in-law, her husband's elder brother. CHAP IV

Now each one of the juniors or inferiors—being a female—approaching each of the seniors or superiors—both men and women—in succession, 'falls at his feet;' crouches on the ground before him, or her. On which he, or she, places first the right, then the left foot on her head. Such is the act styled Âdabuddîken.

As every man of the two parties has to perform this ceremony to every female, and each woman to each younger woman, and the men to salute one another and say 'Tcha!' the greeting of parted friends—which has to be carefully gone through, and which no sense of impatience or untimely levity ever occurs to abbreviate—is one that takes time. But the Toda has no wit, and plenty of time to spare and to waste.

152 593 Mr. Metz tells me he has seen a son fall at his mother's feet. But the act (a very exceptional one) was committed on the occasion of a funeral, when the family appeared overwhelmed with grief; and the man, actuated by his feelings, performed this token of respect and love.

157 576 Nothing but the natural good manners of the people hinders the ceremony of Âdabuddiken from becoming unseemingly slavish. But the cheerfulness of the women, and the men's grave politeness, admits of its being performed with entire good taste.

462 562 Toda women indeed, hold a position in the family quite unlike what is ordinarily witnessed amongst Oriental nations. They are treated with respect, and are permitted a remarkable amount of freedom. They perform the legitimate offices of women in Europe; tending children, cooking the family meals, bringing water from the spring, and cleaning the 531 house and premises. Wearing mantles or togas—Putkuli—there is very little stitching to be performed; but they embroider the edges of the mantles which some of the men wear, with

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 RW60 Toda RW60

766 knee, touched it with her forehead. Both parties then seated themselves on the ground close to and facing each other, and bringing their foreheads together remained in that attitude, with their hands placed either on each other's knees or shoulders, the woman weeping aloud, and having her mantle drawn closely over the head. In a few minutes the man would rise, and with a plaintive ejaculation, go to another to perform again the same ceremony, invariably offering first his foot, which was always saluted with the forehead.

● [152] All this weeping and wailing, divided as it was between the buffaloes and the dead man, had a most striking effect. So unfeigned did their grief appear that I could not but feel that our presence was an intrusion. This scene continued until the mourners, who formed only a portion of those present, had all gone through the ceremony one with the other, when the priest, standing by the deceased's ashes and robe, laid on them a handful of what appeared to me, as far as I could see, to be some kind of seed or grain, and then, accompanied by the under priest, bore it back again with great reverence to the temple, the crowd falling back to permit the passage of the priests and their charge.

With this seemed to terminate the first part of the obsequies, and a sudden change came over the whole scene. The dead buffaloes were removed by noisy parties of Khotas, who had either bought them, or earned them by their services just concluded; and the crowd of Todas again assumed their every-day deportment, as they prepared for a general meal or feast.

We found that the rites would not be resumed till dark, when the robe and ornaments were to be burned; but, as we had no shelter to go to for the intervening seven hours, and no food for either ourselves or our ponies, which were, moreover, shivering from the cold of this elevated position, we were obliged to forego the gratification of witnessing the conclusion, but were shown the spot where it was to take place. This was within a circle of stones, exhibiting signs of many former burnings, and occupying a retired situation at the edge of the grove.

In the centre of this ring, on a pile of dry wood, the priests place the mantle, bags of ashes, ornaments, and wand of the deceased, together with gourds and grass-baskets of grain, for his sustenance in the other world, and the whole are ignited as the mourners stand round, the women with their heads still covered

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

married Nalsirwuf, ceased being head of his immediate family (although he was chief of the Melgarsh *modol*) and Pads, who already was the legal father of Mutnarsh, Kuddhue and Munbokwutn, became so in his place. The mother never has any very important say in family matters, and is treated as nothing more than an exalted kind of house servant.

As I have shown when discussing the question of Toda aggression, there is considerable jealousy among members of the tribe, in such matters as property and prestige. In sexual matters, however, there seems to be less of it, no doubt because their institutions allow for a number of outlets for their varying sexual fancy. Thus, the custom of *terershti* allows a man to carry off the neighbour's wife whom he covets, provided compensation in buffaloes is paid to the aggrieved party, and that of *mokhthoditi* for him to take as partner any woman of the tribe regardless of the moiety to which she belongs. There are other examples that could be quoted, such as, for instance, the privilege enjoyed by the lower class of Teivilkh priest of free access to all the women of the *mad* in which they serve and the Toda-Muduga exchange of wives of which Fürer-Haimendorf has spoken.

In spite of this, however, Kanvarsathi and various of my informants were unanimous in stating that sexual jealousy did exist among the Todas and, as they said, "more than it used to". There is a growing modern trend of resistance to *terershti*, the authority of the *noim* in such matters being often challenged now by an appeal to the Government. Again, informants claimed that the Todas did not take so readily any more to polyandry as before – although I, personally, could not see any falling away from this traditional form of marriage. The fact is, however, that jealousy with the Todas is not as curbed as it is with other polyandrous people. Because the property is divided between the brothers, it is as if jealousy were not banned as a serious threat to economic well-being as it is with others. The Todas, to put it briefly and in the language of polyanders elsewhere, "can afford to be jealous", and they are so at times with those outbursts of homicidal violence of which I have spoken earlier, when treating of the subject of their aggression.

Regulation of sexual intercourse in a Toda polyandrous household is again a matter af tacit understanding between the plural partners. Asked if there were any signalling system, my informants without exception ridiculed the idea, stating that it might perhaps have existed in the past but certainly did not now. During my entire stay in the Niligiris, I never came across any evidence of it. In the Melgarsh family, which I specially studied, it appeared that the common wife, Erzigwuf, had no